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GRAND MASS MEETING
AT THE
COOPER INSTITUTE.

NOMINATION OF
Gen. Ulysses S. Grant
TO THE PRESIDENCY.

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 4, 1867.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

New York - Citizens.

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GRAND
MASS MEETING,

AT THE
COOPER INSTITUTE,

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 4, 1867.

THE public feeling in favor of the nomination of General GRANT for the Presidency, which has been rapidly increasing, not only in this vicinity but throughout the country, for some time past, culminated, in a grand mass meeting, at the COOPER INSTITUTE, on Wednesday evening, December 4th, held in response to a call from a large number of our most prominent merchants, bankers and business men, representing all the great interests of public industry. As the first public demonstration in favor of General GRANT for President, it was a great success. Seldom has the Cooper Institute been filled with as large an audience, or one better representing the various classes of our population, than the one assembled there on that night. A good number of ladies were present. The hall was tastefully decorated for the occasion with the Stars and Stripes, and the flags of the leading nations of the earth. Suspended at

the rear of the platform was a life-size portrait of General GRANT, while in front of the speakers' desk one of Rogers' beautiful statuettes of the hero represented him sitting at his ease in his chair, smoking the inevitable cigar.

On the right of the platform, and stretching to the inner entrance door of the hall, was the motto:

"I will help the boys to take one battery more."

On the left:

"The Constitution, St. President."

And at the back of the hall, fronting the platform, the legend:

"The Union must and will be preserved."

The following is the call under which the meeting organized:

"NOMINATION OF

GENERAL GRANT,

BY THE

Merchants, Bankers, Mechanics and Workmen of New York.

CALL FOR A MEETING ON WEDNESDAY NEXT.

New York, Nov. 25, 1867.

The undersigned, citizens of New York, desirous of promoting the welfare of the country, respectfully invite a mass assemblage of all who honor distinguished and patriotic services in the National cause, at the Cooper Institute, on

Wednesday, the 4th of December, at 8 o'clock, P. M., to present the name of General ULYSSES S. GRANT for the office of President of the United States, at the next ensuing election:

ALEXANDER T. STEWART,	HAMILTON FISH,
WILLIAM A. ASTOR,	MOSES H. GRINNELL,
MOSES TAYLOR,	ROBERT L. STUART,
B. W. BONNEY,	JOHN P. CONOVER,
W. M. VERNER,	JO. VANDERBIET,
HENRY K. ROBERT,	JOHN B. CHITTENDEN,
WM. E. DODGE,	JOHN COCHRANE,
HENRY CLEWS,	J. I. ASTOR, JR.,
WILLIAM H. WEBB,	S. KNAPP,
JAMES BROWN,	HENRY M. TABER,
WILLIAM T. BUDGETT,	CHARLES KNEELAND,
GEORGE B. BUTLER,	WILLIAM SCOTT,
HENRY HILTON,	J. O. JONES,
JOHN J. PHELPS,	PAUL SPOFFORD,
CHARLES GOULD,	LE G. B. CANNON,
JOHN A. WILLIAMS,	R. H. MCCURDY,
JOHN G. GREEN,	HENRY D. DANIEL,
JAMES WADSWORTH,	ETHAN ALLEN,
JAMES I. ROOSEVELT,	JOHN KELLUM,
CHARLES AIKMAN,	GEORGE P. BRADFORD,
WM. W. CORNELL,	ALEXANDER SHALES,
JOHN A. NICOLL,	CHARLES KIRBY,
HENRY T. KIERSTED,	JOHN V. GRIDLEY,
WILLIAM B. WHITE,	MINTHORNE TOMPKINS,
WILLIAM R. STEWART,	IRA O. WILDER,
JOHN F. BOTTMAN,	ISAAC S. MOORE,
JOHN H. HARRIS,	ELIHA S. SMITH,

and several hundred others:

A number of distinguished speakers have been invited, and will be present, of which notice will be given.

Although the meeting was announced for 8 o'clock, yet the hall was crowded to its utmost capacity by half past

seven; and, as the platform was already crowded with the speakers and guests of the evening, it was thought best to organize immediately.

The Hon. WM. E. DODGE called the meeting to order, and, in doing so, spoke as follows:

REMARKS OF HON. WM. E. DODGE.

"I congratulate you, fellow-citizens, that we have met in such numbers here to night under such auspicious circumstances. It is gratifying to say that, half an hour before the hour called for this meeting, that this room is crowded to overflowing with citizens who have come here to manifest their approbation of the call which has been published in our papers during the past week. We are met to night to give a spontaneous approval of the nomination of Ulysses S. Grant—[tremendous applause]—for President of the United States for the next four years. [Renewed applause.] And now I have the pleasure of nominating as presiding officer of this meeting, ALEXANDER T. STEWART."

The nomination of Mr. Stewart was unanimously adopted, and, on taking the chair, he addressed the meeting as follows:

REMARKS OF ALEXANDER T. STEWART, ESQ.

"I thank you, fellow-citizens, for the honor of being appointed to preside over this great meeting, representing the industrial, commercial and monetary interests of this metropolis. The situation of the country calls for a chief magistrate of wisdom, firmness, virtue and experience, and these are possessed, in an eminent degree, by the great chieftain, and now distinguished statesman, General Grant. We have assembled here to-night to aid his election, not with any party or mercenary objects, but solely to promote the substantial interests of the whole Union. The country now requires the immediate and wise adjustment of its dis-

turbed social and political relations. In the performance of whatever duties may devolve on the President in this matter, all must feel, as well at the South as the North, that, if elected to this high office, all the magnanimity that is compatible with safety, will be shown by General Grant. His solid and great qualities assure us that he is equally fitted for peace as for war, and that, under his administration, the purposes of the war will be accomplished in securing this great connected country for a united, free, prosperous and happy people." [Applause.]

GENERAL JOHN COCHRANE then nominated, as Vice-Presidents and Secretaries of the meeting, the following gentlemen, who were confirmed with much enthusiasm:

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

William B. Astor,
Cornelius Vanderbilt,
Peter Cooper,
Wm. H. Webb,
Robert L. Stuart,
Waldo Hutchins,
Andreas Willman,
William E. Dodge,
John D. Wolfe,
Henry Hilton,
Wm. M. Vermilye,
John J. Phelps,
Samuel Wetmore,
S. B. Chittenden,
John Steward,
P. C. Calhoun,
William T. Blodgett,
Murray Hoffman,
Alexander Shaler,
Wm. H. Aspinwall,
Prosper M. Wetmore,
Henry M. Taber,
Shepherd Knapp,

Hamilton Fish,
Francis B. Cutting,
James Brown,
Jeremiah Simonson,
George Griswold,
Aaron Vanderpoel,
A. C. Kingsland,
Richard D. Lathrop,
Charles Gould,
William R. Stewart,
George William Curtis,
Elliot C. Cowdin,
James H. Banker,
George S. Coe,
Henry Reickard,
Jackson S. Schultz,
Francis Leiber,
Denning Duer,
Frederick T. Locke,
John Wadsworth,
William G. Lambert,
Augustus E. Silliman,
Jonathan Sturges,

William Seligman,	Elliot H. Shepard,
Amos R. Eos,	Edward P. Cowles,
Marshall O. Roberts,	George Jones,
Henry K. Bogert,	Douglas Campbell,
Frederick S. Winston,	Benjamin W. Bonney,
Walter L. Cutting,	John E. Williams,
Henry H. Davies,	Frank H. Howe,
Henry Claws,	C. A. Arthur,
John C. Green,	James Kelly,
Joseph Stuart,	Smith Ely, Jr.,
Rufus F. Andrews,	E. D. Stanton,
Paul Spofford,	Leonard W. Jerome,
J. Q. Jones,	James R. Whiting,
John Ochrane,	Frederick C. Deane,
Samuel H. Rogers,	Charles H. Livingston,
Henry Nicoll,	James Low,
Charles Butler,	Robert L. Viele,
Lloyd Aspinwall,	Jos. J. Comstock,
Daniel Drew,	Hepry F. De Groot,
C. P. Leverich,	Frederick Deppeyster,
John Slosson,	Howard L. Parmele,
L. E. Chittenden,	Thomas H. Fallé,
M. H. Levin,	Richard W. Weston,
Le Grand Lockwood,	John H. Swift,
Henry Keep,	George Roberts,
George W. Blunt,	William Watson,
O. D. F. Grant,	Isaac Bernheimer,
Frank W. Worth,	W. K. Kitchen,
Charles P. Kirkland,	John B. Moreau,
Richard M. Blatchford,	George F. Talman,
William W. Stone,	William Orton,
Sheppard Gandy,	Richard Grant White,
William A. Booth,	J. J. Roosevelt,
Wilson G. Hunt,	John T. Terry,
Albert Speyers,	George Cabot Ward,
Ernst Caylus,	Josiah Oakes,
Edward Minturn,	Wed W. Clarke,
F. S. Lathrop,	Thomas H. Morrell,
William A. Darling,	Alfred H. Pratt,
A. W. Spies,	J. S. T. Stranahan,
Charles C. Taber,	L. W. Winchester,

Gulian C. Verplanck,
 Solon Humphreys,
 James Wadsworth,
 J. F. D. Lanier,
 A. M. White,
 H. M. Holbrook,
 Josiah Hedden,
 Alfred B. Darling,
 William B. Meeker,
 George B. Butler,
 George R. Jackson,
 Cornelius B. Agnew,
 Thomas B. Asten,
 Simeon Leland,
 Joseph B. Taylor,
 Levi P. Morton,
 Edward C. Bogert,
 Andrew H. Green,
 Hiram Walbridge,
 Seth B. Hunt,
 John W. Farmer,
 William E. Dodge, Jr.,
 Benjamin F. Manierre,
 George P. Putnam,
 David Adee,
 John H. Almy,
 William E. Esterbrook,
 Marshall Lefferts,
 S. V. R. Cooper,
 James F. De Peyster,
 Theron R. Butler,
 Hugo Wesendonck,
 John D. Townsend,
 Abraham Lent,
 Andrew Carrigan,
 Moses Taylor,
 Jacob A. Westervelt,
 Moses H. Grinnell,
 John J. Astor, Jr.,
 A. A. Low,
 Le Grand B. Cannon,

Townsend Harris,
 George W. Thomas,
 Anson S. Brown,
 Joseph Ripley,
 Edward C. Bogert,
 George T. Strong,
 George F. Nesbitt,
 T. Bailey Myers,
 Thomas Murphy,
 Charles L. Anthony,
 William T. Ashman,
 Samuel O. Reed,
 John H. Sherwood,
 Samuel Captrel,
 Ira O. Miller,
 Frank W. Ballard,
 Temple Prime,
 George W. Quintard,
 William H. Macy,
 Robert Crowe,
 Thomas Mulligan,
 Udolpho Wolfe,
 C. Y. Wemple,
 Joseph H. Godwin,
 William Libbey,
 John Sniffin,
 George B. Van Brunt,
 John McClave,
 William V. Alexander,
 J. M. Patterson,
 James P. Greve,
 Cornelius Van Cott,
 P. W. Bedford,
 Charles Schultz,
 Isaac Sherman,
 Charles L. Tiffany,
 Charles A. Dana,
 Thomas C. Acton,
 William Barton,
 W. A. White,
 John Alstyne,

Robert H. McCurdy,
 Edward S. Jaffray,
 Lewis A. Nauman,
 William H. Fogg,
 Charles H. Russell,
 William R. Travers,
 Frederick A. Conkling,
 Morris Ketchum,
 Charles Kneeland,
 John H. White,
 Timothy G. Churchill,
 D. Randolph Martin,
 Charles A. Macy,
 William Bloodgood,
 Charles H. Marshall,
 Samuel Sinclair,
 William Hoge,
 Charles W. Elliott,
 William Scott,
 James G. Day,
 Simeon Baldwin,
 Joseph Lee,
 David Van Nostrand,
 Nathaniel Hayden,
 Oliver H. Palmer,
 Robert B. Minturn,
 Robert L. Kennedy,
 Henry F. Vail,
 John A. Weeks,
 George Bliss,
 George F. Steinbrenner,
 Robert L. Darrow,
 Uriel A. Mardock,
 Spencer Kirby,
 A. V. Stout,
 Eugene Keteltas,
 Charles Astor Bristed,
 William A. Hall,
 James B. Taylor,
 Charles E. Beebee,
 Otis D. Swan,

Richard Kelly,
 Luther B. Wyman,
 William J. McAlpine,
 Edward Learded,
 George Bell,
 E. V. Haughwout,
 Minthorne Tompkins,
 Theodore Roosevelt,
 Morris Franklin,
 Ethan Allen,
 Charles W. Griswold,
 George H. Moore,
 J. Austin Stevens,
 William A. Budd,
 Robert S. Hose,
 William V. Brady,
 James White,
 Benjamin Merritt,
 William O. Bourne,
 David R. Jacques,
 Richard Mott,
 Theodore W. Parmele,
 Edwin Dodds,
 John H. Morris,
 Joshua G. Peck,
 J. W. Allen,
 John T. Eckhoff,
 Robert S. Dobbie,
 John Taylor,
 Jesse Fonda,
 Joseph Hodgman,
 M. B. Brown,
 William H. Raynor,
 Francis A. Thomas,
 John C. Wandell,
 Matthew Kane,
 H. G. Leask,
 Peter Morris,
 Joseph R. Frith,
 Isaac J. Oliver,
 Robert Smith,

M. B. Wilson,
William H. Lee,
Joshua G. Abbe,

James Fairman,
C. K. Garrison.

SECRETARIES

Richard A. McCurdy,
Samuel J. Glassey,
James Galway,
Jesse Payne,
Charles T. Evans,
Martin C. Gross,
George C. Ellison,
William T. Black,
S. M. Blatchford,
William C. Traphagen,
David H. Smythe,
Edward Gridley,
George Wilson,
James Haggerty,
Joseph F. Ellery,
George W. Cornell,

Henry H. Rice,
Cephas Brainerd,
Thomas L. Thornell,
Charles T. Polhamus,
Frank Moore,
Charles Moreau,
Alexander McLeod,
Geo. H. Giltzow,
John M. Hopkins,
Charles T. Rogers,
George H. Sheldon,
R. J. Vanderberg,
R. W. T. Hyatt,
James M. Anderson,
Charles S. Strong,
Philip Frankenhimer.

JUDGE HILTON thereupon offered the following resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting:

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That the American people have ever been true to the instincts of patriotism in maintaining the rights and honor of the nation; and that the acknowledgment of distinguished services in the national cause, can not fail to be regarded as a grateful duty by a free and intelligent people. [Applause.]

Resolved. That the brilliant services rendered by Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, at a period of imminent peril to the existence of the American Union, have shed imperishable renown on the American name and character, and can never be forgotten by a people alive to the blessings of institutions under whose benign influence they have become a free and united nation.

Resolved, That in the judgment of this meeting, representing all the great interests of national industry, the public sentiment of the country unmistakably indicates its choice, for the office of Chief Magistrate; and that in accordance therewith, and relying with perfect confidence on the

sagacity, judgment, persistent energy, and unfaltering patriotism, so strikingly displayed throughout his whole civil and military career, we present Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT as the candidate of the loyal Union people of New-York, for the office of President of the United States. [Applause.]

Resolved, That the President of this meeting have authority to appoint twenty-four citizens, who, with himself, shall form a Standing Committee, with power to take measures to effectuate the objects and purposes of this meeting. [Applause.]

REMARKS OF JUDGE HILTON.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

It will be perceived that these resolutions contain nothing which can be construed as a pledge or platform for General Grant. We want neither from him. A man who, above all others, is entitled to be regarded as the saviour of our country, we should be and are willing to trust without pledge or promise. As well might those who lived in the days of Washington have exacted pledges from him, as for us to demand such things from General Grant. His whole public life has been a record of prudence, and sagacity, and love for our Union in the past, and his sound judgment and undoubted patriotism are our best reliance and security in the future. We take him, therefore, as he is; and the only platform we desire him to occupy is the one on which he trod when he led our armies to victory and our country to peace. [Great cheering.]

On motion of General Cochrane, the resolutions were adopted with enthusiastic applause.

JUDGE HILTON announced that they were in receipt of a telegram from Gen. Logan, who had positively promised to be present and address the meeting, stating that, as the impeachment question had come up in the House, he would be unavoidably detained at Washington.

THE PRESIDENT then presented, as the first speaker, HON. FRANCIS B. CUTTING, remarking that it was truly

gratifying to find such men casting aside all party, and coming out as one of the people.

MR. CUTTING, on coming forward, was enthusiastically cheered, and spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. FRANCIS B. CUTTING.

I have come here, fellow-citizens, intending to listen and not to be listened to. I heard that gentlemen as distinguished in the field as in the civil service were to be here to-night, at great personal inconvenience to themselves, for the purpose of taking part in this great inauguration meeting. As I entered I heard that a telegram had just come to hand announcing that one of them, who was to have opened it, will not be present. Therefore, you will be satisfied when I assure you that I have only a few remarks to address to you. I will be one of the listeners, then, with you. [Cheers.] I came here to-night, as I understand almost all of you did, not as the representative of any political sect or any political party. I came here as one who, in himself and his family, has his roots deeply inserted in the soil of this land; and who loves it as deeply as he loves his offspring. During the dreadful rebellion through which we have gone, when we had got into those deep hours of gloom and darkness, almost verging on despondency, Providence furnished us with a man who was equal to the great emergency. [Cheers.] A man who until then had lived in retirement, who was known to but few of his fellow-citizens, who came to us when we were surrounded by the most accumulated difficulties, who, armed by intense patriotism, filled by nature with great capacity, full of the power of vast combination, this great man—I mean General Grant, as you all know,—[Tremendous cheering.] I say this great man took the lead of our armies, and in a very short time our despondency became hopeful; the brave became braver; and soon after the army of the Confederates lay at his feet. [Great cheering.] At this moment what were the characteristics, which he displayed? Was he vain-glorious, was he filled with selfishness for himself? No, the magnanimity of his nature burst forth that showed him to be a man in the hour of victory. [Cheers.] He has brought us successfully through a bloody contest, and handed over the country to the civil authorities, in the hope that statesmanship would have done the rest. And I had hoped this, that there was enough statesmanship in the land to have accomplished fully in a peaceful way what our great general had fulfilled in the field; and I have not the least reason to doubt that if it had not been for a foolish, nonsensical, dramatic, senseless murderer of the Chief Magistrate

the result would have been obtained; but a vain-glorious fool, with nonsensical notions, without any capacity to comprehend what he was doing, took from the country, and more especially from the Southern country, the best friend the Southerners ever had. [Long and prolonged applause.] The fruits of that silly, foolish, wicked, unmeaning act now remain before us. Then professional politicians at once began their work to see who could outwit the other to win the game; men who had been at home in their comfortable armchairs and luxuriously-furnished houses, who, during the great struggle, had looked quietly on; who, when all was over then took the field—not the bloody field, but a field of political manoeuvring, full and prolific with difficulties—each one for himself. The President fought the Congress, and Congress fought the President, each one striving who was to get the most. What is the result? Our fraternal love, our brotherly affection, the real union of States, is farther off than at the time of the assassination of President Lincoln. [Hear, hear.] In the midst of darkness, in the midst of surrounding gloom, where is the man, the pillar, the light—the man who is to carry the lantern, leading the way that we may follow him? Is he to be found among the extremes of either party, or with the Phillips' sect and their equally radical section, and others whom I will not name, because it is not necessary? Are we to look to them to carry us through this enormous struggle we are now in? On the other hand, are we to look to the wicked copperheads under the control of the democratic party in the West? [Cries of "No! no!"] If you do not go to the extremes of either party, where will you go? [Shouts of "Grant! Grant!" and great cheering.] Who is the man who will bring us out of this great distress?—"Grant! Grant!"—who has carried you through the thorny wilderness?—"Grant! Grant!"—who will dissipate these dark prejudices North, South, East and West—"Grant! Grant!" Yes, General Grant, and nobody else. [Cheers.] He is the man who, by his labors, by his capacity, his great power of combination, by his ungrudging and manly heart, which has distinguished him throughout all this contest—he is the man who can give peace and relief to the country. [Cheers.] We ask no party to take him up, because the same enthusiasm that fills us here will fill the hearts of all those who interest themselves in the prosperity of the country. You will find from common experience that in putting a ball in motion it will speed with accelerated movement, and in the case of this movement in favor of General Grant as President, it will grow in grander proportions, till at last it will entirely obscure all other party organizations, till it shall be utterly and entirely irresistible—[applause]—the emblem of the will of the people, which will in that

General Grant shall be the next President of the United States. [Great cheers.] And now, fellow-citizens, allow me to make this prediction. It is, that General Grant will be found as great in the administration of civil affairs as he has been in those appertaining to the military arm, and that when he shall have performed his whole duty to the country; and when he shall have been drawn to and with his fathers, the historians of this country will write of him, as they wrote of the great American republican of the last century—"The first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." Mr. Cutting resumed his seat amid loud and prolonged applause.

The next speaker introduced was GENERAL SICKLES and, on his coming forward, aided by the supports rendered necessary by the loss sustained by him in fighting the battles of his country, the scene of enthusiasm baffles description. Cheer upon cheer rent the air, while hats and handkerchiefs waved and fluttered from every corner of the hall. He said:

GENERAL SICKLES' SPEECH.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The events of the Revolutionary War, as has been truly said to you to-night, developed the character and brought forward the illustrious statesman whose destiny it was to establish and administer, for the first eight years of our national existence, the affairs of our infant Republic. He was commended to the American people, not by party platforms, not by political indorsement, but by his principles, and his character, and his deeds in the service of the nation. And now, after long years of civil conflict, we have seen that the events of the late war not only brought forward the soldier who should successfully lead our armies to victory, but the heart of the nation feels that in that same soldier we have the first citizen of the Republic best fitted to lead us to a happy destiny in times of peace. [Applause.] There are those who complain and object that he is a silent man—that he has not announced to the country his platform, and that no responsible politicians come forward as his vouchers to the people. But the people see, and feel, and know that General Grant has a platform good enough for them in his history and in his acts. [Applause.] But we are not left to any mere inferences as to General Grant's opinions on public affairs. On all proper occasions—when a military officer, as he has been and now is, and as an executive officer, as he also is now in part—on all occasions,

when it has been proper for him, as a soldier or as a civilian, to communicate his opinions to his superior officer or to the public, he has done so with all the frankness of a soldier, with all the candor of a man, and with all the wisdom of a statesman. [Applause.] Go back with me for proof of this to the close of the war, immediately after Lee and the rebel army had surrendered to Grant's victorious banner. General Grant was sent by His Excellency, the President, to the Southern States upon a tour of observation. He performed that task, and communicated, in his report to the President, a view of the situation in the rebel States, and a series of suggestions with reference to the line of policy to be pursued toward them, which, I affirm here to-night, all our subsequent experience has proved to have been wise—as I claim they were in their conception—a statement, at the outset, frankly spoken and courageously maintained. [Applause.] But, unfortunately, gentlemen, the Executive line of policy that was subsequently pursued made it impossible to carry out the wise and statesman-like recommendations of the General-in-Chief. Unhappily for the country, the Executive policy tended, irresistibly and inevitably, to a collision, with the representatives of the people. [Applause.] And I need not say to you or to any American citizen—for all have that practical common sense which gives them a better insight into public affairs than some of the profounder professors of statecraft can exercise—I need not say to you, that it was utterly impossible to bring to a solution the difficult problems which this war brought upon us, when the great departments of the Government—Executive, Legislative and Judicial—were at war with each other. From such a conflict peace to the land was impossible. The plan of settlement that was initiated, known as the President's policy, was simply this—to restore what remained of the rebels in the rebel States to power. [Applause.] That was justly deemed by the people who put down the rebellion a criminal waste of the sacrifices of the war. General Grant dissented from that policy. [Loud cheers.] While General Grant, in common with the great mass of the army who followed him, dismissed all asperities and hatreds, and calmed all passions, when the rebel army surrendered; while they were willing to second him in offering honorable terms to a brave foe, they were not willing—and, if I know them, never will be willing—to abandon the loyal whites, or any loyal people in the South, to the mercies of the men who inaugurated the rebellion. [Great cheering.] And in this matter General Grant's opinions are just as well known to any officer who has served under him, and has listened to his instructions, and has had the opportunity of executing his orders, as are the views of any platform-maker in the United States. [Cheers.] To

proceed, Congress fresh from the people, elected by the free unrestrained ballots of the loyal States, claimed to have, as they rightly had by the Constitution of our fathers, the right to prescribe the terms on which the rebel States which had renounced their allegiance should be again recognized in their seats in the Senate and House, and the terms on which they should be permitted to participate in the affairs of the Republic—Congress, I say, after mature deliberation, embodied their judgment in what is known as the Constitutional Amendment, originally introduced by Senator Howard. That proposition of peace, and amity, and settlement, was tendered to the South by the votes of two-thirds of the Representatives of the people. It was ratified by three-fourths of the loyal States that put down the rebellion. It was rejected by the South, and they rue it now and repent it. But so it was; it was rejected. It was denounced by the Executive and his Cabinet; but it was sustained, recommended and indorsed by Grant. [Loud cheering.] But I say to you here to-night—based upon my own opportunities for observation at the South—that if the Executive had aided by his influence and sustained by his power that proposition of peace and amity, the settlement thus made by Congress—we would have had peace and tranquillity at the present time. [Cheers.] It was not in the power of the Executive to defeat the Constitutional Amendment in Congress or in the loyal States, but it did prove to be in his power to prevent a single rebel State from accepting it. But it was perfectly well-known to all in Washington, and to all who had the opportunity at any time to know General Grant's sentiments when that amendment was pending, not only that he earnestly and frankly advised the Southern States to accept it, but that all the weight of his influence was earnestly and repeatedly exercised with the Executive to induce him to forbear his fatal opposition to that measure of peace. [Applause.] What next? The first overture of Congress, as we have seen, was refused. And here let me pause an instant to say that history may be challenged to furnish another illustration of equal magnanimity on the part of a conquering power to a subjugated foe. In the Constitutional Amendment there is no word of confiscation; there is no decree of pains and penalties and punishments; there is no demand for atonement for the tens of thousands of lives and the countless treasure that were required to overcome the great crime of the rebellion. No. Proving equal to all the high impulses that the occasion demanded, quieting the passions that had been so recently enkindled in the breast of the free loyal North, dismissing all thought of indemnity for the past, exacting only security for the future, Congress prescribed the terms on which all the rebel States might be again restored to the Union, leaving to them the largest measure of con-

trol over their local affairs, including the entire question of suffrage, trusting wholly to their magnanimity and sense of justice as to the treatment that hereafter should be dealt to the loyal men in the rebel States, white and black—and herein incurring a responsibility to history and to the loyal people of the North, the West, and the East, not easy to measure, Congress waiving all considerations, I say, except the single one of security for the future—simply imposing conditions in accordance with such considerations upon certain men who had taken a solemn oath, before Almighty God, forever to bear faithful allegiance to the United States, and obey its Constitution and laws—who had taken that solemn oath upon themselves, and then before heaven, with perjury, had taken up arms to destroy the Government they had sworn to uphold; with that single reservation, disfranchising these men, who, by deliberate perjury, had proved themselves for their day and generation unfit for public trust—Congress said, with that restriction: “We waive all else, and will shake hands with you and call you brothers once more.” [Cheers.] This was denounced by the Executive and his Cabinet, and under his influence and advice rejected by the rebel States. What next? Congress, bound by public opinion, bound by a sense of duty, was driven to one of three alternatives: Either to yield to the Southern demand that the rebel States should be entirely relinquished to the unrestricted control of those who not only assisted, but those who originated and led the rebellion; or, secondly, that they must leave the Southern States that had been the theatre of war indefinitely under military government. The third alternative was that Congress itself should assume the responsibility and take the initiative of passing an enabling Act by which society and government could be again organized in those States where the rebellion had produced anarchy, and thus give to the people there the means of protecting themselves, and giving to the loyal States of the Union a perpetual guarantee for the allegiance and loyalty of the rebel States. [Applause.]

You have seen under what embarrassment and difficulties, resulting from many sources, that plan of reconstruction has been conducted, but you have seen this, also, that while it has encountered the almost irresistible power, patronage and influence of the Executive, it has never for a moment lacked the steady, loyal, faithful support of the General-in-Chief of the armies. [Cheers.] Passing any reference to myself, except to take this occasion to express my appreciation and gratitude for the support so steadily given to me while in command in the Carolinas, amid all the trying difficulties of that position, let me for illustration of what I have just said, point you to the manly, soldierlike, true friendship and devotion to duty, manifested in the struggle he made to save the gallant

Sheridan. [Loud cheering and waving of hats and handkerchiefs.] There was Sheridan sent to New Orleans with a handful of men to control all the turbulent elements of Louisiana and Texas ; to restore order out of anarchy, to bring an unwilling people to a sense of allegiance to our flag, and Constitution and laws ; to extend the hand of protection to the helpless negro, whom we had emancipated and whom we had called a freedman, but to whom we had given no means to protect his freedom or his franchise ; obliged to shelter from persecution and tyranny and outrage the loyal whites ; compelled to afford security to Northern capitalists who had gone down there in the confidence that an American citizen presumes he may always feel that wherever he goes, at least within our territory, the hand of power, whether civil or military, will always be exerted and held over him to protect him from outrage. Sheridan went down to perform this difficult, delicate, and responsible task. He was arraigned and dismissed—for what? Simply for executing the laws of the land passed by the Congress of the United States, the representatives of the people. [Applause.] Did Grant stand upon any mere question of military etiquette? Did he wrap himself up in that reserve and silence which those who would like to provoke distrust tell you is his shield and his only security? No! Not content with personal remonstrances, not content with official appeal, he sat down instantly at his desk, and penned in words that will not die, in language doing equal honor to his intellect the sentiments do his heart—he penned that glorious remonstrance to the Executive, appealing to him to do justice to the sense of duty and the well-meant efforts of a faithful soldier who had done the State some service, and to forbear, at least in that case, from striking down an officer for obeying and executing the laws of the land. [Cheers.] And here my friends, you see, as I proceed in this narrative, which I do not mean to make tedious to you, that I point out to you in every instance where his sense of duty would permit that the General-in-Chief of the army has been as frankly outspoken and unreserved as it was possible, or proper, or becoming for an officer in his position to be. [Cheers.] No man is in doubt as to the sentiments of General Grant upon the great questions now before the country, unless that man wants to be ignorant. [Applause.] And ignorance upon a matter so plain and so easily ascertained and understood would, I think, exclude any such men from the exercise of the ballot if we had an educational qualification. [Laughter.] To proceed. We next find Grant called to a civil station, appointed Secretary of War *ad interim*. And here, it seems to me, he has furnished an answer to those who had such very great anxiety that his merely military education had not given him

the necessary experience and qualifications for civil office. You will find many well-meaning gentlemen who have the gravest doubts whether General Grant would make a good business man. Well, I think he showed a pretty good capacity for business when he was dealing with Gen. Lee. [Laughter.] I think you may search in vain, from one end of this land to the other, to find a man who habitually worked more hours in the day, or who gave closer attention to what he was at when he was "fighting it out on that line, if it took all summer." [Cheers.] But we are not left to his military history to ascertain his capacity for his business, or his ability to handle the problems with which statesmen have to deal. Whom did he succeed in the War Department? The most illustrious War Minister of modern times. [Loud cheers.] And with such a predecessor he has made a reputation in the War Office. He has introduced reforms which escaped even the scrutiny of a Stanton. Although the army had been reduced with a rapidity and a success that amazed Europe, and it seemed almost impossible and impracticable to our own people, yet General Grant, faithful in that obedience to the will of the people and the instincts of the people, which indicate him so truly as a great popular leader, responded at once to the popular demand for reduction in expenditure, for economy, in order that we might hasten to that happy epoch when we can resume specie payments, and pay every public creditor dollar for dollar in honest gold and silver. [Cheers.] General Grant, fellow-citizens, it may be, does not owe his fame or his opportunity to perform the great service he has rendered the country to many of those qualities, or to any, perhaps, which make up a successful professor of Statecraft. Nobody pretends that Grant is a Bismarck, or a Louis Napoleon, or a Count Cavour, or even a Seward. [Laughter.] There is no probability at all that if he were Secretary of State his despatches would fill an ordinary school-district library; and there is no danger at all, I think I may safely assure you, that he would deluge Congress with long disquisitions on the Constitution of the United States, equal in length and volume to the productions of Geo. Ticknor Curtis. [Great laughter.] Gen. Grant is a man of the people. He possesses that intuitive common sense that the American people desire to see manifested and exercised in public affairs. We have not—although we have important questions devolving upon us—those complicated relations with foreign powers, the necessity of maintaining vast standing armies, intricate dynastic questions and others, the knowledge of which goes to make up an European definition of a statesman, or a diplomatist, or a prime-minister. We have our difficulties, to be sure, and we do require first-rate capacity in high public office. Let me not

for a moment depreciate the standard of capacity and character required to lead this Republic safely and honorably to its high destiny. Not for an instant. But I say that what our great officers, above all, should be noted for, is straightforward dealing with the people, a conciliatory demeanor and tone towards the co-ordinate branches of the Government, and respectful recognition of what is due to the people through their representatives in Congress, and a willingness on the part of men in high executive stations to yield their peculiar views of policy and of personal prerogative to the demands of the people as expressed through their representatives. [Applause.] And this I claim—that Gen. Grant in all his views upon public affairs; in every attitude he has assumed since the surrender to our armies—this I affirm he has faithfully done. A word in passing, and in conclusion I may add as to what may be expected from any other sources of relief, that the country might look to in this crisis. And before I touch upon that theme let me observe that I suppose this meeting—this great and imposing popular demonstration—would be misunderstood in its object and design if it were attributed to any mere purpose to do honor to a distinguished personage; it is not that. Not less would it be misunderstood if it were supposed to have for its object any mere partisan interest, and certainly no greater mistake could be made than to suppose that it has for its aim to assault or to impugn or injure the political character or prospects, or defeat the legitimate ambition of any of our illustrious statesmen, or to attack the policy or plans of political parties. Therefore I have not permitted myself to speak in any terms of censure or disrespect of any authority, legislative, executive, judicial or partisan. But it is impossible to review the political situation with which you and I have to deal as citizens without some reference to men and events. What does the Democratic party propose to do? Nothing, that I can see, except to fill the offices. [Laughter and cheers.] I have not seen their plan of reconstruction, unless they adopt the Executive plan, which I have already, as I believe, truly described to be simply and solely the restoration of the rebels to power just where they were when they began the war. That is impossible, if I know the American people. [Cheers.] The Democrats are committed absolutely, so far as I can see by reading most attentively the addresses of their distinguished men, to reaction—to use a lawyer's phrase, to the *status quo ante bellum*. They would ignore the war. They would say with the Executive, in his recent Message, "Those rebel States are to-day in the Union precisely as they have always been, and nothing that they have done has deprived them of a single right." Well, if that is true, I don't want to stay in the Union for one. [Laughter.] What

is proposed by the Executive?—for I am really embarrassed to state to what party his Excellency belongs,—I therefore speak of him *sui generis*, [laughter.] but with profound respect. [Renewed laughter.] Well, he proposes to Congress, as far as I can see, a daily reading of the Constitution, and the employment of the remainder of the session in careful meditation thereon. [Laughter.] I wish to do no injustice to his Excellency's platform; it is sound. But how far it will lead to peace and tranquillity, without some practical measure which will elucidate our problems, I do not see. But, very likely, if Attorney-General Stanbury were called upon for an opinion, he could make it entirely clear. [Laughter and cheers.] It is equally true, on the other hand, I think, that the American people do not desire ultra measures of mere *doctrinaires* to delay or impede the just and proper settlement of all our relations with the rebel States. It is equally true that our people desire to be relieved as soon as possible, and as far as practicable, of whatever burdens they may bear that result from an improvised financial system forced upon us by the exigencies of the war. There is no doubt that experience will soon develop more uniform and easier modes of collecting the public revenue, or that our financiers will soon be able to negotiate loans at a much more reasonable rate of interest than we were compelled to pay in the midst of war, when it was doubtful in the minds of many whether we could ever pay at all. There is no doubt that, upon many such questions, there is much uneasiness in the public mind, and a restlessness and discontent with the present state of affairs, which finds expression in various forms; and, while we have these problems to solve, upon which the destiny of the nation hangs, our people get rather restless when great questions are mixed up with small, subordinate, trifling issues: as in Philadelphia, where the Union party that was in power forgot every other measure of importance that was before them in order to stop the cars running on Sunday, so that poor people could not get out of town to enjoy a little fresh air, and our friends in Massachusetts were in such a hurry to reconstruct everything that, I am credibly informed, it was not possible to get a drink there. [Laughter.] And, at this rate, it was reasonable to suppose that, if the City of New-York became Republican, nobody would be allowed to have anything to wear, or to smoke in the streets. Something too much of this ultraism, into which all parties are liable to run in the race of success, has been seen in the dominant party, and, no doubt, very much of the dissatisfaction and discontent of which I have spoken is owing to these minor causes of irritation. I trust you will allow me to affirm as my opinion and belief, and to express it as my

hope, that that noble act of justice, by which the Congress of the United States gave to all the people who are citizens of this land, and who were loyal to their flag throughout the war in the rebel States, the right of suffrage, will be deemed and held by the American people as sacred and irreversible as the Emancipation Proclamation. [Cheers.] The American people are progressive, not ultra; they are conservative, not reactionary. You cannot make a free man to-day and make him a slave to-morrow. You cannot give a free man the sign and badge of manhood by putting the ballot in his hands and take it away to-morrow, and make him the slave to some other man who holds that ballot. [Applause.] And never, never can you, without outraging justice, and without planting within your borders an inextinguishable fire of resistance and revolt, take away the ballot from the black man and give it to the rebel. [Great cheering.] But this you can do: When you have seen that, under the reconstruction acts, loyal and legal state governments have been organized and established in the rebel States; when those States come to Congress with a constitution Republican in form and providing fairly and equitably for the protection of the rights, civil and political, of all within their borders entitled to franchise; then, I say, you have attained that security for the present and the future which will enable Congress and the country to agree with one accord, to grant a general amnesty to all who have offended against our flag. And from that general amnesty I, for one, would only except those whose signal crimes against the Constitution and laws of the land, and against the laws and usages of war, and against the common instincts of humanity had marked them out as fit examples of human justice, *and those I would except*. This can be done—this I believe should be done—this I have never doubted would be done in good time, and so soon as it was safe and practicable to do so; and I think I am correct in affirming the fact that our illustrious chief, General Grant, has so declared and expressed himself. You do not expect any one on this platform, fellow-citizens, to rehearse to you the military exploits of Grant. They are full of interest and instruction, it is true, to those who would correctly appreciate and comprehend the unrivalled greatness and purity of his character. [Cheers.] You will not expect to be reminded of the simplicity of his character and life, his unostentatious demeanor, his straightforward dealing with all men. These are all familiar as household words. But I may be permitted to express my own sense, derived from personal experience, of the reverence, and affection, and devotion due to so good and great a man. I do not believe there is in the length or breadth of the land a soldier who has followed his fortunes, and served under his command, who will hesi-

tate an instant to accord to him all the qualities of head and heart needed for the ruler of a free people. [“That’s so,” applause.] Nor is there a soldier who doubts that when their illustrious chief assumes the direction of civil affairs, that the time will come—that tardy time, it is true—when justice will be done to them. [Applause.] But, to conclude, in commending, as I do with all my heart, and soul, and strength, General Grant to your confidence and affection, I do so, not because he is a trimmer in politics—not that he is a craven who would conceal his opinions—not that he is a man who would put on the gown of humility and solicit your sweet voices—no, like another Cæsar, he would say:

“Better to die, better to serve,
Than crave the hire I do deserve.
* * * Rather than foot it so,
Let the high office and the honor go
To one who would do thus.”

No, he is commended to you because, of all men living, he is the truest embodiment of the great loyal millions who put down the rebellion because they loved the Union, and who desire peace now because they pray for its perpetuity.

General SICKLES concluded amid loud and long-continued applause.

MR. TREMAINE was the next speaker introduced, and on coming forward was enthusiastically received. He said:

SPEECH OF HON. LYMAN TREMAINE.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: “In peace prepare for war,” is a prudential maxim, applicable alike to the conduct of nations, and of great political organizations. At no time since the formation of the Union party, that great and patriotic party, which was formed after the attack on Fort Sumter, has the duty enjoined by this salutary old proverb been more emphatic than at this moment. [Applause.] Our nation has just passed through a war more formidable in its character and more gigantic in its proportions than any other which has existed since the creation of the world. On the fields of battle that war has resulted in the complete triumph of the arms of the Union, and in the total destruction of the rebel Confederacy. [Applause.] But the political problems growing out of the war, and intimately connected with it, still remain unsolved and unsettled. It depends upon the future action of the people whether the national victory, which has been achieved by a vast expenditure of treasure and blood, shall prove comparatively fruitless, or whether the great principles which have been

vindicated by the result shall become permanently incorporated into the governmental policy of the nation. The people of the United States will soon enter upon the great Presidential campaign of 1868. Public opinion, in reference to the candidate of the Union Republican party for President, is rapidly culminating, and finding utterance, in spontaneous meetings of the people, in the expressions of the public press, and in the opinions of leading statesmen, throughout the country. At such a time, and under such circumstances, it is eminently fitting and proper that the patriotic Union men of New-York should give expression to their opinions upon this vitally interesting question. You are situated in the commercial centre of the Confederacy—the seat of wealth, intelligence and activity. As the heart sends the blood coursing through all the arteries of the human body, so does every great popular movement originating here exert an influence which is felt in all the members of the body politic. When I remember that the call for this meeting has only been published in your city papers for two days—when I consider the object for which you have convened—and when, on casting my eyes over this hall, I discover the vast body of enthusiastic and patriotic citizens who have assembled in response to the call, I discover conclusive evidence that the Union men of this great metropolis, like their brethren elsewhere, are turning justly to General Ulysses S. Grant as the great chieftain who shall lead them forth to battle and to victory. [Great applause.] In this conclusion, I do most heartily concur; and with your kind permission, I propose, this evening, to present some of the prominent reasons which, in my humble opinion, should influence our judgments and control our action. At the commencement of the discussion I desire to do full justice to the merits and qualifications of those other distinguished citizens whose names have been favorably mentioned in connection with the Presidential office. We honor them for their exalted worth, their great ability and patriotic services. We believe that in the future, as in the past, a grateful people will bestow upon them its choicest honors and rewards. Look for a moment at the brilliant constellations. There is Salmon P. Chase, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court—[great applause]—the Secretary of the Treasury, who smote the rock of public credit when the waters gashed forth—the financial minister who, by his great ability, raised the sinews of war for our army when the capitalists and governments of the old world turned the cold shoulder to our struggling Republic. There, too, is the right hand supporter of Mr. Lincoln's administration, Edwin M. Stanton—[great applause]—the able War Minister, who organized greater armies than any Government ever brought into the field, and who, without delay, supplied them with all these provisions and

maintains for war only enabled them to obtain success; the devoted patriot, who, for his fidelity to his country, was stricken down by the perfidious incumbent of the Presidential office. [Slight noises, with tremendous applause, repeated again and again.] Then, there is the rising statesman from the Northwest, the eloquent representative of the vigorous and progressive elements in the Union party, Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives. [Great applause.] From the army we have that glorious soldier, the Captain of our cavalry, Philip Sheridan. [great applause]—the man who sent the enemy "winning through the valley," and who displayed such great executive ability in the administration of the Department of Louisiana and Texas. Last, but not least, we have that glorious warrior-statesman, General Logan. [Great applause.] Like our own gallant Sickles [cheers]—he sank his party in his country, and both on the march and in the field he has earned the lasting gratitude of his countrymen. With either of these men we could enter upon the contest with a strong and reasonable probability of success. But we are passing through a transition period in our history. We are standing for the very crisis of our national life. We are reconstructing great States whose governments were overthrown by treason. We are laying anew the foundations of Empire, and if the opportunity now offered to us shall be lost, it will be gone for ever. We dare not, therefore, accept even a probability of success when the certainty is within the reach. It is because we believe, and feel, and know, that such certainty is available that we propose at this time to place the laurel-wreath of victory and honor upon the brow of Ulysses S. Grant. [Great applause.]

It is the same intense sentiment of loyalty—the same heroic war spirit that effected the election of Mr. Lincoln now demands the election of Grant, that we recommend his administration. My second reason is, because his splendid military record proves him to be the ablest and most successful General now living. We are a truly a military people. While we cultivate peaceable relations with all nations, we cherish the Jacksonian doctrine of asking for nothing but what is right, and of submitting to nothing wrong. Whenever the military favor of the nation is aroused, like the mountain torrent, it sweeps before it all opposition. These truths were illustrated in the election of Presidents of Washington, Jackson, Harrison and Taylor, and will again be exemplified in the triumphant election of General Grant. [Applauds.] Follow him, for a few moments, in his glorious military career. He graduated at the West Point Military Academy, and served with credit in Mexico, but when the Rebellion broke out he was engaged in civil pursuits. Burning with a desire to avenge the wrongs upon our Government, he entered the

service at the head of an Illinois regiment, and soon earned a Brigadier-General's commission. We find him in the first campaign, stationed at Cairo, crossing over to Missouri and attacking the enemy at Belmont, where his horse was shot under him, and a brilliant victory was achieved. Again we find him penetrating the treasonable purposes of Governor Magoffin, entering upon the soil of Kentucky, and, at Paducah, capturing the Rebel stores, hauling down the Rebel flag, hoisting the Stars and Stripes, and publishing a brief and stirring proclamation to the people. His vigorous action brought matters to a crisis, and drove John C. Breckinridge and other Rebel leaders to the camp of the Confederates, where they belonged. He next resolves that the navigation of the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers shall be opened to us, and after a short siege, Fort Henry, with its military stores, falls into his hands. The investment of Fort Donelson immediately followed. The besieged forces endeavored in vain to cut through his lines, and soon the atmosphere becoming very uncomfortable, General Floyd and a few troops take refuge on board a Rebel steamer and escape. The next morning General Buckner opens a correspondence with a view to obtain advantageous terms for surrender. He did not understand the character of General Grant, but the answer he received contains some of those thrilling expressions which, in case of Grant's nomination, will be interwoven into the patriotic songs of the country, be chanted by our glee clubs and brave soldier boys, and become the rallying war cry of our political party. Grant thus answers Buckner's proposal for the appointment of Commissioners to agree on terms of capitulation and for an armistice:

SIR: Yours of this date, proposing an armistice, and the appointment of Commissioners to settle on the terms of capitulation, is just received. NO TERMS EXCEPT UNCONDITIONAL AND IMMEDIATE SURRENDER CAN BE ACCEPTED. [Great applause.] I PROPOSE TO MOVE IMMEDIATELY ON YOUR WORKS. [Tremendous applause, repeated again and again.]

"I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
"U. S. GRANT."

Buckner hastens to respond:

SIR: The distribution of the forces under my command, incident to an unexpected change of commanders, and the overwhelming force under your command, compel me, notwithstanding the brilliant success of the Confederate arms, to accept the ungenerous and intolerable terms which you propose. [Great laughter and applause.]

"I am, Sir, your servant,
"S. B. BUCKNER."

Port Donelson, with 12,000 to 15,000 prisoners, 40 pieces of artillery, and large military stores, fell into the hands of Grant, although he did not understand and observe the laws of chivalry. [Applause.]

PITTSBURG LANDING.

You find Grant at Pittsburg Landing, on the Tennessee, when an army of 40,000 troops, commanded by Albert Sidney Johnston and Beauregard, attacked him early in the morning. Although our troops fought bravely, yet, "not to make too fine a point on't," they were badly whipped the first day. Beauregard dispatched from Shiloh to Richmond an exultant message, claiming that he had won a complete victory, and driven the enemy from all points. Indeed, under any other leader but Grant our army would have been cut to pieces, or driven from the field; but Grant, like General Taylor, never knows when he is whipped. [Laughter and applause.] That night he reorganizes his troops, orders up all the reserves within reach, and at 4 o'clock, the next morning, assumes the offensive; and so vigorous and successful was he that, before 4 o'clock, he had not only recovered all his lost ground, but had converted a disastrous defeat into a great victory. Johnston was killed, and Beauregard, with his army routed, shattered and beaten, retreated to Corinth. Fifteen thousand killed, wounded and captured Confederate troops attested the invincible courage and bull-dog tenacity of our great chieftain. [Applause.]

VICKSBURG.

From the commencement of the rebellion, Vicksburg had been regarded as the Gibraltar of the Confederacy, and Davis had publicly declared that its possession was essential to the existence of his government. Strong in its natural position, and strengthened immensely by huge fortifications, constructed with great engineering skill and immense labor, its frowning batteries commanded the Mississippi, and had defied the utmost efforts of our combined land and naval forces for its reduction. You remember Grant's incredible and gigantic labors in diverting the channel of the great river, his huge canal to the lake, and his herculean efforts to pass the forests and swamps in his attempts to execute the original plans for its capture. Grant was as fertile in resources as he was brave in battle, and he resolved to change the plan of attack. Then came Commodore Porter's brilliant passage of the batteries with his gunboats, under cover of darkness. Grant then commenced that masterly series of movements, resulting in cutting his way through all opposing forces, until at last he reaches the coveted location on the east of Vicksburg, and the investment of the doomed fortress is completed. [Applause.] The results accomplished by the siege and capture of Vicksburg are thus briefly stated in Grant's official report:

"The result of this campaign has been the defeat of the enemy in five battles outside of Vicksburg, the occupation of Jackson, the capital of the State of Mississippi, and the capture of Vicksburg, and its garrison, and munitions of war; a loss to the enemy of 37,000 prisoners, among whom were 15 general officers; at least 10,000 killed and wounded, and among the killed Generals Tracy, Tilghman and Green; and hundreds, perhaps thousands of stragglers, who can never be collected and re-organized; arms and munitions of war for an army of 60,000 men have fallen into our hands, besides a large amount of other public property, consisting of railroads, locomotives, cars, steamboats, cotton, etc."

HIS CAREER IN VIRGINIA.

Let us follow General Grant to his new theater of operations. The Army of the Potomac, while under the command of McClellan, although composed of as fine and soldierly a body of troops as were ever mustered into service, had failed to meet the just expectations of the people. The Anaconda of our Young Napoleon, which, we were told, would coil itself around the body of the Rebellion, and crush out its life, proved to be a sluggish and torpid beast, passing his time in pit holes and in practising lessons in civil engineering. [Applause.] "Hope deferred" had "made the heart of the nation sick." Meanwhile, the rising fame of the gallant General from Illinois had attracted the attention of the nation, and the people demanded that all the armies of the Union should be subjected to the control of his great genius. Congress responded, and in February, 1864, an Act was passed creating the office of Lieutenant-General, and recommending Grant for the position. He was nominated and confirmed the next day, and soon after, repaired to the Headquarters of the Army of the Potomac. Early in May he gave the command, "On to Richmond," and then commenced that forward movement, from which the brave heroes were never to return, until they return as victors and conquerors. [Applause.] Lee, the most accomplished General in the Confederacy, was on the alert, and as soon as Grant entered the Wilderness, where his artillery would be useless, and he could be attacked at a disadvantage, his great adversary hurled his whole army against him, and then came the life and death struggle which might be anticipated from "Greek meeting Greek." The smoke of battle hung over the mighty combatants for six days, while the nation remained in a state of suspense, bordering upon agony. At last, there came from Grant to Lincoln another of those electrifying reports, containing an expression which has served to give him an immortal renown.

"We have now ended the sixth day of very heavy fighting. The result, to this time, is much in our favor. Our losses have been heavy as well as those of the enemy. I think the losses of the enemy must be greater; we have taken over 5,000 prisoners by battle, whilst he has taken from us but few, except stragglers. I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

"U. S. GRANT."

[Tremendous applause.] The battles around Cold Harbor, Spottsylvania 'Court' House, at the North Anna River followed. Then came the bloody attack—the stubborn and heroic defence—Lee falling back from one set of formidable intrenchments to another, closely pursued by his untiring and indomitable foe, and, at last, the campaign is over, with Lee and his shattered force seeking shelter for the last time, behind the defenses of Richmond. The campaign is ended, and Grant with his army is at Richmond, holding his position on the south of the James and across the Weldon Road, from which Lee had struggled in vain to dislodge him, and having his hand upon the throat of the Rebellion, never to be unclasped until the Rebellion itself lay stiff and cold in death at his feet. [Applause.] We may judge of the sanguinary character of this campaign when we learn that the number of killed, wounded and missing on both sides, from May to November, reached the enormous figure of 150,000 men. Grant's vindication for this necessary loss of life is contained in his official report concerning the military situation when he assumed the command of the Army of the Potomac, and is regarded as complete by the judgment of the people. After sketching the posture of affairs, he says:

"I therefore determined, first, to use the greatest number of troops, practicable against the armed force of the enemy, preventing him from using the same force at different seasons, against, first one and then another of our armies, and the possibility of repulse for refitting and producing necessary supplies for carrying on resistance. Second, to have not continued the fight against the armed force of the enemy, and his resources, until by mere attrition, if, in no other way, there should be nothing left to him but an equal submission with the loyal section of our common country to the Constitution of the land. Whether these views might have been better in conception and execution is for the people, who move the levers of friends and foes, and who have paid the pecuniary cost, to say. All I can say is, that what I have done, has been done, conscientiously, to the best of my ability, and in what I conceived to be for the best interests of the whole country."

The remainder of the story is soon told. Soon after the opening of the campaign in 1865, Grant gives the final order to advance upon the beleaguered Capital. The events that followed are vividly photographed in the appalling dispatch from Lee to Davis:

"The enemy has broken my lines in three places. Richmond must be evacuated tonight."

Davis and the remnants of the Confederacy evacuated, accordingly, and his fine old retreat was hampered by the lurid flames of his burning capital. Our army enter—Lee retreats—Grant and his Generals, equal to the renowned Marshals of Napoleon, press upon his heels, bring him to bay at Appomattox Court House, where, after a brief conference

he, and the Army of Virginia, surrender to our conquering hero. We see how thoroughly Grant had hammered out the Rebellion, when we learn that this proud and powerful army had been reduced to 35,000 men, of whom but 10,000 were capable of effective service. The surrender of Johnson and his army to Sherman immediately followed. And now the military power of the Rebellion is destroyed. The war is over. Peace is restored, and the Confederacy ceases to exist. Call to mind, my countrymen, the exciting scenes that were witnessed when the intelligence came, flashing over the wires that Richmond had fallen, and Lee and his army were prisoners of war. Strong men wept—the church bells pealed their merriest chimes—and the acclamations of the multitude, joining in the roar of cannon, attested the universal happiness and gladness of our people. In that hour of triumph and joy there came bursting forth from the swelling hearts and trembling lips of loyal men and women, expressions of gratitude and praise for the great General who had been enabled, by the blessing of Almighty God, to crush the rebellion and save the country. [Great applause.] We are indebted to Grant, also, for that wonderful sagacity which was exhibited in the selection of the right captains for the right places. We owe it to Grant that Sheridan was placed at the head of the cavalry. [Applause.] We owe it to Grant that Sherman was in command of the Army of the South-West, and that, by their combined genius the plan of his campaign was conceived, resulting in the capture of Atlanta, and the ever-memorable and glorious march to the sea. [Applause.] President Lincoln related a circumstance, illustrating the sagacity of Grant, and his agency in other movements of the army. Just before the Baltimore Convention, a few delegates called upon him, pursuant to appointment, and we found him free and communicative, as well as hopeful and agreeable. One of our party asked his opinion on the military situation. "Well, gentlemen," said he, "Grant now has entire control and I can only relate a conversation I had with him the other day. He said his plan was to hold Lee and his army in the vicinity of Richmond, while he sent Sherman through to destroy the Confederacy. I said to him," and the sunbeam played over the President's homely face, making it appear positively handsome, "Grant, I don't know much about the technicalities of your profession, but as near as I do understand you, you propose to hold the leg while Sherman takes off the skin." [Roars of laughter, with tremendous applause.] "Yes," said Grant, "that is what I mean." With what an iron grasp Grant held the leg, and how brilliantly Sherman stripped the hide from the rebellion—these are matters which have passed into the domain of history. [Loud applause.]

My third reason is, that under the administration of Grant, the reconstruction of the Union, on a basis of loyalty, freedom and justice will be secured. An objection, to the effect that Grant has not been sufficiently demonstrative in the expression of his opinions upon the political issues that have agitated the nation, is deserving of consideration. When I remember how grievously Andrew Johnson has disappointed the party which elected him, I desire to treat this objection with great respect. Let us "reason together," and see if its force is not essentially impaired in the light of fair and candid discussion. Grant is constitutionally a reserved man. His whole career and conduct prove this. Follow him, in his movements among the people, and when he is honored with these ovations which a grateful people offer him, no speeches fall from his lips. There is little danger that he will injure himself or the party which nominate him, by "swinging around the circle," making speeches as he swings. [Laughter.] Secretary Stanton once remarked to me and an eminent jurist of your city, after eulogizing the masterly abilities and military genius of Grant, that, among the numerous letters and reports he had received from Grant, there was not one that covered more than one side of a sheet of letter paper. [Great applause.] His views of etiquette and propriety, like those of most army officers, induce him to exercise prudence in reference to political matters. He testified before the Congressional Committee, last June, that he had considered it his business to perform with fidelity the duties of his military office, leaving the settlement of political questions to the political departments of the Government. Considering his views of official propriety, and the prominent traits of his character, it is believed that the objection which I have mentioned loses much of its force, if it does not indeed disappear altogether. But, although a reticent, Grant is by no means a silent man. On the contrary, from the beginning to the end of our great struggle, he was expressing his views. He spoke through the agency of musketry, artillery, and in the movements of great armies. He spoke at Fort Donelson and Pittsburg Landing, at Vicksburg and Lookout Mountain. He spoke at the Wilderness, Cold Harbor, Spotylvania Court-House, and all along the bloody road from the "Rapidan to the James." He spoke at Petersburg, Richmond and Appomattox Court-House. His utterances were so clear, loud and piercing that they shook the continent and electrified the world. [Great applause.] Translate his language into words, and I think its voice would be, "This accursed rebellion must be broken to pieces, and the blessed Union saved." [Tumultuous applause.] But I do not rest my argument on mere inferential conclusions. The incidental record which he has made will be found ample and

conclusion. As early as 1862, Grant approved of the Emancipation Proclamation. He wrote a letter to Mr. Washburne, published since, declaring that, although not an Abolitionist, he did not desire peace until slavery was abolished; for, in his opinion, the Union could not be saved unless slavery was destroyed. He approved of the Amendment abolishing slavery, and of the proposed fourteenth Amendment now pending. He testified that he regarded the President's North Carolina Proclamations as only temporary, and that he supposed when Congress met, that body would settle the whole question of reorganizing governments in the rebel States. Here he touches the key-note of the controversy, and recognises the full power and jurisdiction of the people through their Representatives, over the subject of Reconstruction. He approved of the Military Reconstruction Bill, and favored supplementing away the power of removing the Commanders of the Military Districts, except with consent of the Senate. He exerted his influence to prevent a long adjournment by Congress, and thereby leaving Johnson master of the situation. He opposed the removal of Sheridan, and in his letter of protest to the President expressed the opinion that such a removal would be against the will of the people, which ought to be a rule of action to the President. [Applause]. In brief, study his opinions from every standpoint, and the conclusion would seem to be unavoidable, that he is entirely safe, sound and trustworthy, upon all the great issues before the people. [Applause].

My fourth reason is, that his sterling honesty affords a guarantee that, under his administration, integrity and economy will prevail in the administration of the Government. Corruption has caused the overthrow of the ancient republics, and is the most deadly enemy of our own. Grant has never capitulated in cotton while in the army, nor taken advantage of the confusion of ideas as to the laws of *monopoly* and *trust*, which prevail in civil war. With all the temptations and opportunities presented, the smug of fire has never been found on his garments.

My fifth reason is, that under his administration, peace and universal prosperity would prevail. The rebels themselves, like any other intelligent people, respect an honorable, manly and consistent opponent. And I see every other intelligent rebel for his opinion; and he will tell you, without doubt, that he would prefer the election of Grant for President to any of those Janus-faced politicians, who professed to favor a vigorous prosecution of the war, while they opposed every means deemed essential to make the war a success—who professed sympathy with the North, and so far as they dared, practised sympathy with the rebels—men who, like the Old Boys of the Republic, lived along the lines and stole from

both sides. [Laughter and applause.] Elect General Grant, and the era of good feeling and fraternal concern will return. Elect Grant, and the busy hum of industry will be heard throughout the country; trade and business of all kinds will revive; our commerce will again whiten every sea.

My sixth and last reason is, that his nomination would be followed, not only by his election, but by the election of a majority of Union Republicans in the next Congress. Look at a few facts and figures. According to the latest elections, if you reject the entire votes of the ten rebel States, Grant would receive a majority of forty in the Electoral Colleges. That great party which voted for Lincoln, with inconsiderable exceptions, will support Grant. Before the warm and genial influence of his great name, all differences of opinion on non-essential points will melt away, and Conservatives and Radicals will vie with each other in the generous strife to secure his election. [Applause.] Moderate men of all other parties will vote for Grant, to secure tranquillity to the country. The army of discharged soldiers will recognize, in the call for Grant, the sound of the old bugle, and come forth to do honor to him who, by his bravery and success, has done so much to honor them. The capitalists who are so nobly represented on this platform, and, in the call for this meeting, interested in the preservation of the national credit and the public faith, will unite with the men of smaller means who have invested their property in Government securities, relying on the faith of the nation, and these will be joined by the farmers, the mechanics, the business men, the professional men and the hard-fisted laborer, forming, altogether, an army for Grant, irresistible in power and numbers. Then select for Vice-President some distinguished citizen whose name will be recognized as that of a man who sympathized warmly with our army and with the Union party during the days of trial through which the country has passed; some man who, uniting wisdom, prudence and discretion with integrity of character and firmness of purpose, can give assurance by his past record that, in case he should become President, the interests of the Union party, and the interests of the whole country, would be safe in his hands; and we can enter the Presidential campaign with the certainty of sweeping everything before us, and of securing for our candidates and principles the approval of the American people. [Great applause.]

It was nearly 11 o'clock when Mr. Tremaine concluded. The immense audience was full of excitement, and loud calls were being made for several speakers. MR. STEWART

introduced Mr. SIMEON B. CHITTENDEN, who spoke as follows:

FELLOW-CITIZENS—If you will come to order and listen to me, I will not detain you more than five minutes; and I challenge your attention and respect for daring to speak at all at this late hour, and after the splendid addresses just concluded. You have listened to an honored and successful soldier, whose brilliant and finished effort would grace the reputation of the ablest statesman of any country, and to a distinguished and honorable politician, who has brought to bear upon this meeting the whole force of his masterly eloquence; and now you are to have a very short speech, in the name and interest of a class rarely spoken for on such occasions, by one who has come here with no other preparation than the inspiration of the hour, and an honest purpose to speak freely the true sentiments and convictions of the business men of New-York. I am no partizan, nor have I ever been. I ventured to say, at the great meeting held in Wall street three or four days before the second election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, that the first thing in order, after putting down the rebellion, was to extinguish the whole brood of corrupt politicians. That is as true now as then. The work remains to be done, and this is the time to begin. The people who conduct the business and pay the taxes of this city are sick and weary of the furious, corrupt and corrupting political contests which have raged so long, and which have so frequently baffled and blasted the best purposes and prospects within their grasp. And now that slavery is dead, and impartial freedom and franchise secured for the millions lately in bondage, we demand fraternity and rest, and pledge our faithful efforts to secure them, while we joyfully believe that the nation will respond, amen! amen! In March, 1866, I had the pleasure of an introduction to the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, on the floor of the House of Representatives in Washington. After the usual interchange of courtesies, Mr. Stevens spoke earnestly to me of his claim that the business men of New-York should take the right stand in respect to the perils which threatened to subvert our institutions, and exert the power they possessed to save the country. In an interval of his remarks I said, Mr. Stevens, your views and policy will weaken and damage the loyal Union party, and, if persisted in, the Democrats will carry New-York, Pennsylvania and other of the loyal States in 1867, and our party, which justly and proudly wears the honor of saving the Union, will stand upon the verge of ruin. Then its great mission and work will only be completed by the uprising of the people in 1868, demanding that Grant shall be President. I know very well, fellow-citizens, that prophets are at a

discourt; but I am not afraid "just once" to accept the discredit which sticks to them, nor will I, in vindication, stop to trace the steps by which we have steadily marched on towards the fulfilment of those predictions made nearly two years ago. Every intelligent citizen knows that the material interests of this nation are suffering and wasting away, and capital and labor unite in the demand for repose from party strife, and that our public men shall devote themselves freely and vigorously to wise and patriotic legislation. And we have assembled here to-night to name the man for President, who, in our judgment, is best calculated to still the troubled waters, and give a new and prosperous impulse to every useful industry and occupation. You have already been reminded that our first President was the successful leader of the brave soldiers of the Revolution; and if we are as susceptible of admiration and gratitude for glorious and valorous deeds as our fathers were, it follows, of course, that General Grant will also be exulted and crowned with the highest honors. I venture to differ, moreover, with the host-spoken, in respect to the method of nominating him. Washington was nominated by the people; National Conventions had not then been invented—perhaps we cannot now dispense with them altogether; and when the principles and aims which control the selection of candidates rise no higher than the success of a favorite of a party, they are, of course, indispensable. But the present occasion is exceptional. The country needs a leader now, whose patriotism is unrestrained by any ties, and who is in no sense a partisan; and I don't believe that the promoters of this meeting want General Grant ground through a party convention. Adherents to all parties will vote for him: no matter if all parties nominate him; but we don't want him to stand upon any party platform. He needs no such support. His record before the whole world is his own grand platform, and three-fourths of the voters of this nation stand upon it with him to-day. Washington was not required to make promises, when called by the confidence and gratitude of the people to preside over the destinies of the Republic. Lincoln was unanimously re-nominated at the Baltimore Convention, in 1864, against an undercurrent of bitter partisan opposition—depressed, however, by the might of the people's will, who had already named him for re-election with wonderful and irresistible unanimity. Congress exacted no promises from Grant when he was made Lieutenant General; Lincoln exacted none when he gave him command of all the armies of the Union—more than a million of men! and the people want no promises from him now. If he lives, he will be the next President of the United States; and there is not force enough in all the machinery of both the great political parties, if combined in one against him, to prevent this.

The heart and the judgment of the nation is fixed; and if it be necessary for the accomplishment of their purpose, the people will snap the ties and break the lines of party, as their hero crushed the rebel lines and armies before Richmond. We have a Grant party now, and, though scarcely organized yet, it is resolute, powerful, resistless, and sure to triumph. My five minutes are up. Good-night.

General COCHRANE then came forward, and said that owing to the lateness of the hour—11 o'clock—it had been determined by the gentlemen on the platform who had not yet spoken, not to speak, and before adjourning, he proposed three rousing cheers for General ULYSSES S. GRANT, which were given with hearty enthusiasm, and the vast audience dispersed.

OUTSIDE DEMONSTRATIONS.

Immense crowds of people assembled in front and around the Square adjoining the Institute. The coldness of the weather prevented any organized meeting, but many thousands of enthusiastic citizens were prevented participating in the proceedings of the Hall—more than enough to fill the building five times over. This vast crowd were gratified by a brilliant display of fireworks, which included a piece surmounted by the word "GRANT," supported by a galaxy of flags, with the eagle resting upon the shield, and underneath the whole, the words "For President;" a number of rockets, Union lanterns, red fire, Drummond lights, &c.

The blazing of rockets and burning of masses of Greek fire produced an effect over the surrounding buildings and distant scenery scarcely equalled on any similar occasion.

NOMINATION OF GENERAL GRANT.

Under the resolutions adopted at the Grant Meeting at the Cooper Institute, on the 4th inst., the following Committee of twenty-five was appointed to carry out the objects of that assemblage, and take measures calculated to secure the election of General Grant for President :

WILLIAM B. ASTOR,	HAMILTON FISH,
JAMES BROWN,	JOHN Q. JONES,
PETER COOPER,	HENRY HILTON,
JAMES H. BANKER,	JONATHAN STURGES,
ROBERT L. STUART,	MOSES TAYLOR,
WILLIAM T. BLODGETT,	SAMUEL WETMORE,
JOHN COCHRANE,	JOHN E. WILLIAMS,
S. B. CHITTENDEN,	FREDERICK S. WINSTON,
WILLIAM E. DODGE,	WILLIAM H. WEBB,
JAMES HARPER,	BENJAMIN B. SHERMAN,
C. K. GARRISON,	F. B. CUTTING,
MOSES H. GRINNELL,	C. VANDERBILT,
ALEXANDER T. STEWART, <i>Chairman.</i>	

The first meeting of this Committee was held on Thursday evening, at the residence of their Chairman, and was attended by nearly all the members.

After organizing, and appointing Henry Hilton, as Secretary, the Chairman proceeded to call the attention of the Committee to a practical discussion of the most feasible method to secure, as far as possible, the object for which they were appointed. In doing so, he said that the meeting of the Committee, although preliminary, was very important, as it was necessary at this time to settle upon a course of action for adoption tending to carry into effect the views of the meeting at Cooper Institute, from which the Committee emanated. The main object being to secure the election of General Grant, the first thing to consider was how the Committee could aid in bringing about such a result. He then gave a brief outline of what he regarded as necessary for the Committee to do.

First. He would avoid all conflicts with politicians, who might seek to use the Committee in behalf of candidates for Vice-President or any other position, giving all their efforts in aid of General Grant alone, upon the platform laid down by the meeting—that is, his past record of services to the country, and a confidence that his judgment in the future, as in the past, might be safely relied on to carry the Government through the many difficulties the country must necessarily encounter during the coming four years.

Second. He would issue a short business circular to all commercial men in the country, urging them to do as had been done at Cooper Institute; not waiting for the politicians to lead, but give in advance of them such an expression of the public opinion in every locality as would leave no doubt as to the choice of the people for President, and thus, as it were, give embodiment to the general public sentiment outside of party men, and force the nomination of General Grant upon any political convention that might be held either by Republicans or Democrats.

The names of various persons to whom he would address this circular could be obtained from the business friends and connections of the members of the Committee, throughout the country, so as to embrace every person or firm of importance, exclusively of a business character, adding such others as might be deemed useful, with whom to open a correspondence.

Mr. Stewart, in expressing his views of the course to be adopted, remarked that it would be perceived he avoided all connection with mere politicians, while at the same time no cause was given them for complaint. In thus acting they would be showing their fellow-citizens everywhere that they had a decided preference for General Grant as a safe man to trust as Chief Magistrate; and then, as business men, ask their commercial friends to come out in public

meetings; and do likewise. In this manner it seemed to him they would lead and eventually control those who now control the people, and produce a lasting benefit to the whole country, in addition to setting an example for the future, which might be well regarded as the beginning of a system to end in the people expressing, in all cases, in advance of conventions, their choice for leading public offices and officials.

In accordance with these views, Judge Hilton submitted the form of a circular letter, which, after earnest speeches by Messrs. Grinnell, Sturges, Garrison, Cochrane, Hilton, Copper, Dodge, Chittenden and Winston, received the approval of the Committee, and was referred for adoption and circulation to an executive committee of five members, composed of Henry Hilton, Moses H. Grinnell, C. K. Garrison, Wm. E. Dodge and John Cochrane, who were also authorized to proceed in the manner suggested by Mr. Stewart, by engaging headquarters and committee rooms, opening correspondence throughout the country with the business connections of the various gentlemen comprising the Committee, and all others disposed to join in popular demonstrations of like character to that had at the Cooper Institute, so as to present the name of General Grant as the nominee of the people.

Mr. Stewart was made, *ex officio*, a member of the Sub-Committee, a meeting of which, for immediate action, was called for Friday.

Until suitable quarters can be rented, the Executive Committee will meet at the office of its Chairman, Henry Hilton, No. 262 Broadway.



